change. Those who had been closely connected with the pre-Communist regimes were purged, while the rest have recently rejoined the ranks of the state bureaucracy as elder but silenced members. Besides these, recent years have produced a new group of State administrators who hate the other group, yet who still try to imitate their manners. This top group as a whole, the non-peasant and non-industrial-worker group, being so strangely heterogeneous and antagonistic one to another, their subversive potentiality as a unit is negligible. Individually, the older generation of intellectuals are more reliable, although they are a little class-conscious, submissive and opportunistic to some extent. They resent the social set-back which lowered them from their pre-war influential positions to the ranks of the "white-collar proletariat."

The industrial workers, the most rapidly growing class in Hungary, are more homogeneous and united than the middle class. Except for the recent recruits in the factories, who constitute a rather strong minority, the majority of the industrial workers belonged to or sympathized with the pre-Communist free trade union organizations, and they are keenly class conscious and highly realistic as far as wages and living conditions versus the idealistic goals expounded by Communist

2: Pálóczy-Horváth
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[For a description of the relationship between master and serf as viewed by the peasantry, see category 116, entire source]

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GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM. After the last war, however, there was a considerable reaction against the Jews, partly because the Communist leader Béla Kún, who ruled in Hungary for some months in 1919, and most of his leading assistants, were Jews. Furthermore, times were changing. There were no longer places enough to go round in the State service and the younger generation of Magyars began to look for business careers, and to regard the Jews as rivals. This affected especially a class of Hungarians who have played a very important and very disastrous part in recent history: the young generation of 'Swabians' (see Chapter 1). The sons of Swabian peasants who came to Budapest to make their living could not, like the son of the old Magyar aristocratic or 'gentry' family, reckon on influential family connections to get them safe jobs in some ministry. They had to make their own way in the world, and it was they, more than any other class, who felt the force of the Jewish competition. Then when Hitler and his Nazis came into power in Germany, the Swabians, in spite of their Magyar upbringing, and very often, Magyar names, suddenly felt themselves German. They not only sympathized with Germany's political aims, but also with the Nazi social ideas, including anti-semitism. They infected others, and before long there was a considerable party in Hungary clamouring noisily for the adoption of the Nazi system, and in particular for laws and measures against the Jews similar to those which the Nazis were enforcing in Germany.

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The Hungarian government and people did not give way easily to this clamour. But it was not difficult to whip up a good deal of ill-feeling against the

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9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

563 Jews, particularly among the younger generation
661 who found it difficult to get jobs, and resented the much greater wealth of the average Jew. Yielding to the popular demand, laws were passed restricting the proportion of Jews in the professions and universities and expropriating Jewish-owned land. But the Jews still enjoyed a degree of protection not paralleled in Nazi-controlled Europe until March 1944, the fatal date when the Germans really established control in Hungary. Then the gang of professional anti-semites came into power who introduced the counterpart of the Nuremberg laws into Hungary, with all their accompaniment of the ghetto, the yellow star, eviction from almost every job and every kind of brutal and humiliating restriction.

It was also established that the Jews, who had not been allowed to serve in the army and had been formed into separate labour corps, were being sent to Poland to work behind the German lines, and it was feared that they were being exterminated there by the Germans. This fate was reported to have been inflicted on all the Jews of Hungary outside Budapest, men, women and children alike. The deportations were stopped on the intervention of the Pope, the King of Sweden and others, but were renewed, and extended to Budapest, when the Arrow Cross seized power in October 1944.

563 The more progressive and decent elements
578 in Hungary never approved of the excesses of the Germans and their despicable agents, and no doubt will be anxious to re-establish a humane and honourable relationship between Jew and Christian after the war. What form that will take

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it is difficult to say, for the events of 1944 have deepened the consciousness, even among those who repudiated the excesses, of the difference between the two races, and the problem of finding jobs for the younger generation of non-Jews is not likely to have become easier.

LIFE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. About a quarter of the population of Hungary is employed in industry. The term covers all industrial processes, down to the village smith or carpenter, and nearly one-half of the persons listed as 'industrial workers', are in fact artisans or home-workers or employed in very small concerns with perhaps only one or two assistants. The government has always been anxious to encourage this smaller industry, both as a means of relieving rural unemployment and as constituting a social, dependable, God-fearing element of the population.

The other and greater half are the factory workers, employed in larger concerns with a payroll of ten or more. The most important of them are the great Manfred Weiss munition and metallurgical factories on Csepel Island, south of Budapest. There is a big iron works, belonging to the State, at Diosgyör, another munitions factory at Gyor, and some sizeable textile factories in Budapest. Outside Pécs, there are local mines. All industry developed quickly after the outbreak of war, to meet the needs, not only of munitions, but of other supplies for the army.

The position of the industrial workers in Hungary is, on the whole a good deal more satisfactory than that of the workers in the villages. As in every

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793 Germans. Later he denounced quite as vigorously the expulsion of German-speaking minority groups from Hungary. However, as soon as the treaty went into effect, the Cardinal and the Church were left to face the enemy unaided. It had been argued that he should have anticipated the development and adopted a more conciliatory tone; but the evidence garnered in other satellite countries shows that he would merely have made his own lot easier without changing in the least the direction in which the Communist Party was implacably moving.

659 798 795 The first effect of the treaty on religious activities was the subjugation of the Calvinist and Lutheran churches. Lutheran ranks had been seriously depleted by the expulsion of German "ethnic" groups. During the autumn of 1948 Bishop Lajos Ordass, undoubtedly the ablest and most courageous Lutheran leader, was brought to trial and sentenced to two years in prison. The Calvinists, on the other hand, were led intellectually by Dr. Albert Bereczky, who seemingly assented to every demand made by the State. Soon this Hungarian Protestant church heard Bishop Imre Ravecz say that "the most important and significant ordinances of the Hungarian form of society are in complete accord with Holy Writ." These developments were interpreted in some quarters as meaning that whereas the Protestant churches enjoyed complete freedom under Communist rule, the recalcitrant Catholic Church was having a difficult time because of the bigotry and lust for power which characterized its Hierarchy.

795 578 771 As a matter of fact, the Calvinist Church in particular was feeling the knout, not merely in outward persecution but also in inner conflict. Prior to the signing of the treaty and the Communist seizure of the government the dominant group in it was the one that had opposed the Nazis. These men, notably Bereczky, were persuaded that the traditional interdependence

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of Church and State had been evil, and that only separation could advance the cause of the Gospel. The coming of the Communists was interpreted as being in part a punishment visited upon the Church for sin. Drastic reform was therefore needed, and above all missionary effort to bring the masses to a realization of the true meaning of Christian teaching. Yet at the same time the gifted and realistic Bishop László Ravasz pointed out firmly that freedom was possible to the Church only if society recognized the value of freedom and insisted that religious education was a duty no parent could shirk if he hoped to remain a Christian. An ultimatum by the government to the Church, presented during the early months of 1948, resulted in the resignation of Bishop Ravasz as President of the General Synod and as a member of the Hierarchy. The Synod protested against this high-handed action, but in the end Bereczky gained the position of greatest prominence in the Church.

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Passing over, for the moment, the situation thus created, we resume the chronicle of the Cardinal. Every new day brought disappointments. The government laid its heavy hand on the schools, the press, and Catholic Action. It induced a group of Catholics, in the name of progress, to promulgate criticism of the Primate. Outwardly it was still possible to pretend that Church and State were seeking agreement. Monsignor Zsigmond Mihalovics, director of Catholic Action in Hungary and later an exile, relates in *Mindszenty, Ungarn, Europa* that he went with a companion to attend a reception in honor of the President of the Republic late in 1947, only to find that Mátyás Rákosi, Secretary-General of the Hungarian Communist Party, was anxious to chat and have his picture taken in the company of Church dignitaries. The Party was still interested in camouflage and, as usual, was proficient in the art.

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Events moved swiftly towards a climax during the summer

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